1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulilalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nonu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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COLORS

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The Pukapukan has little need to distinguish fine degrees of color gradation. The environment is monotonous in color scheme: white coral sand, dull green of coconut and other tropical trees, blue sky and sea. Tropical reef fish are of course a riot of bright, variegated coloring, but they are easily distinguished in terms of shape, number of fins, and so forth. In general, therefore, the Pukapukan is content to distinguish one or two colors like red or brown and blue or yellow. These with black, white, and a term for variegated coloring are ample for his needs, because color terms can be duplicated and combined with other terms to give an approximation to a desired degree of saturation. Terms for a commonly used color series are:

Kula: red.
Kulakula: brown (as the hair).
Kula uliuli: very dark red-brown.
Kula keye: deep red.
Kula lelenga: greasy (?) red.
Kula melo: scarlet.
Kula melomelo: reddish.
Kula pongipongi: brownish red.
Kula toto: blood red.
Kula yiyinu: shiny red.
Melomelo: yellowish.
Yengayenga, yeyenga, pa yengayenga: blue or yellow or a mixture of these two colors.
Uyi, uyiuyi, pa uyiuyi, uyi koka: dark greenish.
Mumuka, mamamu, litolito, kena, kenakena: white.
Mukalele, mukavakevake: blinding white surface.
Tea: white, used only in proper names.
Kalipo: iridescent.
Kokone, knockone, koyikoyi: striped or variegated.
Uli (general word), uli popo, uliuli, pa uliuli, ulimotumotu, ulimangiloli, uli koka, uli popokawa: black and various saturations of black.

Informants found it impossible to compare exactly any of these adjectives with European colors, though perhaps a deeper investigation may establish a few exact correspondences. Informants were unable to agree upon the color name for a yellow pencil, some believing the color to be *yenga*, others *lenga*, a Rarotongan word meaning blue. Similarly, informants had no word to define the color of a piece of white paper. They called it *kena*; but the same word is also given for the color of pandanus (*lito*) plaited mats, which is usually a very light saturation of yellow. Informants defined the color of white clouds as *mamake*, which seems to mean perfectly clear and soft. The tendency perhaps is to describe colors in terms of surfaces or relative degrees of saturation, which must be increased greatly before another color results. Smaller increases of saturation are simply described by duplicating the basic word or parts of the word.